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Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDA-07 ERDA-05 AF-08 ARA-06
CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-07 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NASA-01 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01
PRS-01 OES-06 SS-15 USIA-06 /123 W
----------182338Z 125438 /70
R 182219Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2826
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 0814

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, UN, UR, US
SUBJECT: US-SOVIET CONSULTATIONS ON SPECIAL SESSION (SSOD) ISSUES

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AT THEIR REQUEST, SOVIET MINISTER OVINNIKOV AND MISSOFF TULINOV MET WITH AMB.-DESIGNATE LEONARD MARCH 17 TO DISCUSS ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES AT THE FIRST MEETING OF THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD) PREPCOM AND TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON LONGER-TERM MATTERS SUCH AS AGENDA, UN ROLE IN PREPARATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR CCD. OVINNIKOV ALSO RAISED ISSUE OF PROTECTION OF SOVIET MISSION AND CITIZENS IN NEW YORK. IN LIGHT OF MOUNTING INTEREST IN DECISION-MAKING ISSUE AT PREPCOM, WE PLAN TO CONVEY OUR VIEWS TO CHAIRMAN-TO-BE ORTIZ DE ROZAS BEFORE OPENING OF PREPCOM MARCH 28.
END SUMMARY.

2. AT OUTSET, OVINNIKOV BROUGHT UP ISSUE OF SIZE OF THE PREPCOM BUREAU, REITERATING SOVIET DESIRE FOR TEN RATHER THAN FIVE MEMBERS IN ORDER TO MAKE ROOM FOR A WARSAW PACT MEMBER AS WELL AS A YUGOSLAV AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EAST EUROPEAN GROUP. HE ASSERTED VAGUELY THAT SOVIET
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VIEW HAD BEEN "FAVORABLE RECEIVED," INTIMATING THAT WEST EUROPEAN AND OTHERS GROUP WAS MAJOR OBSTACLE TO AGREEMENT. HE ASKED US TO SUPPORT SOVIET POSITION. LEONARD NOTED THAT FIVE-MEMBER BUREAU WAS DECLARED POSITION OF THE NONALIGNED, SOME OF WHICH APPEAR TO CONSIDER THE SMALL SIZE IMPORTANT, AND THAT WEO GROUP SUPPORTED BUT HAD NOT PROPOSED THIS SIZE. HE

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ADDED THAT IF DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE EAST EUROPEAN GROUP AND NONALIGNED DELEGATIONS LED TO AGREEMENT ON A LARGER BUREAU, WEO WAS UNLIKELY TO STAND IN THE WAY. WE BELIEVE SOVIETS HAVE NOT DECIDED HOW FAR TO PUSH THIS MATTER AT PREPCOM.

3. ON DECISION-MAKING PROCEDURES, OVINNIKOV STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF CONSENSUS OPERATION. LEONARD AGREED THAT CONSENSUS WAS DESIRABLE, BUT EXPRESSED DOUBT ABOUT REALISM OF PRESSING NONALIGNED TO AGREE TO A FORMAL CONSENSUS RULE. KEY TO SUCCESS OF SPECIAL SESSION WOULD LIE LESS IN ELABORATION OF SPECIFIC RULES THAN IN CREATION AND MAINTENANCE OF COOPERATIVE SPIRIT AND POLITICAL WILL. THIS IN TURN WOULD BE SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCED BY PROGRESS MADE OVER COMING MONTHS IN US-SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN THE FIELD OF DISARMAMENT, AND BY THE WORK OF THE CCD, AND OTHER FORUMS. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE EXPLORING VARIOUS FORMULATIONS TO AFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE OF STRIVING FOR CONSENSUS WITHOUT SEEKING TO RULE OUT POSSIBILITY OF RECOURSE TO VOTING, WHICH WOULD LEAD TO CONFRONTATION AND CONTENTION FROM THE OUTSET. THIS WHOLE QUESTION, LEONARD SAID, COULD BE DISCUSSED OPENLY AT FIRST PREPCOM; US WOULD BE PREPARED TO SET OUT ITS VIEWS ON RECORD AND OTHERS SHOULD AS WELL. OVINNIKOV AGREED THAT THE QUESTION SHOULD BE THOROUGHLY DISCUSSED AT PREPCOM. HE NEITHER ACCEPTED NOR REJECTED THE POSSIBILITY OF DEVELOPING A GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE FORMULATION.
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4. ON ORGANIZATION OF WORK, OVINNIKOV NOTED THAT YUGOSLAVS APPEARED TO HAVE RETREATED FROM THEIR INITIAL PROPOSAL FOR THE CREATION, AT THE FIRST MEETING, OF THREE SUBCOMMITTEES, AND THAT THE GENERAL TREND OF THOUGHT SEEMED TO FAVOR POSTPONEMENT OF ACTION ON THIS QUESTION UNTIL AT LEAST THE MAY SESSION. THE SOVIETS AGREED WITH THIS TREND, REGARDING ESTABLISHMENT OF SUBCOMMITTEES AS A SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE TO BE DEALT WITH ONLY AFTER THE VIEWS OF GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN SUBMITTED TO THE SYG. AS FOR RUMORS OF NONALIGNED SUPPORT FOR INTERSESSIONAL MEETINGS, FORMAL OR INFORMAL, OF THE PREPCOM, OVINNIKOV SAID SOVIETS WOULD NOT FAVOR SUCH MEETINGS BEFORE MAY SESSION, AND DID NOT SEE WHAT PURPOSE THEY WOULD SERVE EVEN AFTER THE MAY SESSION. LEONARD EXPRESSED PERSONAL VIEW THAT BRIEF INFORMAL MEETING MIGHT BE USEFUL JUST BEFORE MAY SESSION TO REVIEW RESPONSES OF GOVERNMENTS, BUT SUGGESTED THAT THIS MIGHT BETTER BE CONSIDERED AT A LATER DATE.

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ALTERNATIVELY, THE BUREAU MIGHT BE ASKED TO CARRY OUT
INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN SESSIONS ON VARIOUS ISSUES.

5. TURNING TO BROADER SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS, OVINNIKOV
CONFIRMED THAT GROMYKO LETTER TO SYG WAS DEFINITIVE
SOVIET RESPONSE ON SPECIAL SESSION ISSUES. HE SAID
SOVIETS FAVORED IDEA OF A GENERAL POLITICAL DECLARATION
BUT DID NOT SUPPORT PREPARATION OF A "PROGRAM OF ACTION"
AS PROPOSED BY THE YUGOSLAVS, PARTICULARLY IF ACCOMPANIED
BY A "TIMETABLE." TULINOV EXPRESSED PESSIMISM OVER
POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING AGREEMENT ON ANY SUCH PROGRAM.
US DELOFF RECALLED ORIGINAL LANGUAGE IN COLOMBO DECLARA-
TION REFERRING TO "PRIORITIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS"
RATHER THAN "PROGRAM OF ACTION," OBSERVING THAT THIS
MIGHT MORE CLOSELY REFLECT APPROPRIATE ROLE OF UNGA.
ASKED IF THE SOVIETS SAW THIS CONCEPT AS PREFERABLE,
OVINNIKOV SKIRTED QUESTION, REITERATING DOUBTS ABOUT
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THE POSSIBILITY OF REACHING GENERAL AGREEMENT ON ISSUES.

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PRS-01 OES-06 SS-15 USIA-06 /123 W
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R 182219Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2827
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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C O N F I D E N TI A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 0814

6. OVINNIKOV STRESSED THAT SOVIETS WERE COMMITTED
TO PURSUING THEIR EFFORT TO PROMOTE A WORLD DISARMAMENT

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CONFERENCE, AND ASKED DIRECTLY IF US COULD AGREE TO A FORMULA TO INCLUDE WDC AS A SPECIFIC, SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM. LEONARD SAID THERE WAS NO CHANGE IN THE US ATTITUDE TOWARD A WDC, THAT WE CONTINUED TO CONSIDER SPECIAL SESSION AND WDC TO BE TWO DISTINCT AND UNRELATED PROPOSITIONS, AND THAT WE WOULD THEREFORE NOT FAVOR MAKING WDC AN AGENDA ITEM. OVINNIKOV SAID HE WAS "NOT ASTONISHED" TO HEAR THIS.

7. REFERRING TO THE THIRD OF THE SPECIAL SESSION FINAL DOCUMENTS (ON ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS) PROPOSED BY THE YUGOSLAVS, WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS THEIR PROPOSAL TO "BLOW UP" EXISTING DISARMAMENT FORUMS, OVINNIKOV SAID HE EXPECTED INTENSE PRESSURE AGAINST THE CCD AT THE SESSION. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT US AND USSR WOULD STICK TOGETHER IN RESISTING EFFORTS TO OVERTURN EXISTING, PROVEN MECHANISMS. LEONARD AGREED THAT CHANGES SHOULD NOT BE MADE UNLESS THEY WERE CLEARLY FOR THE BETTER, BUT ADDED THAT IF GENUINE IMPROVEMENTS COULD BE MADE, THE CONFIDENTIAL

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OPPORTUNITY PROVIDED BY THE SESSION SHOULD NOT BE LOST.

8. AT CONCLUSION OF MEETING, OVINNIKOV SAID HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED BY AMB. TROYANOVSKY TO RAISE QUESTION OF PROTECTION OF SOVIET MISSION AND CITIZENS, CITING CONCERN THAT RECENT ACTS OF VANDALISM MIGHT SIGNAL THE START OF A "NEW" ANTI-SOVIET "CAMPAIGN." HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT AMB. YOUNG AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO DEAL WITH THIS SITUATION. LEONARD SAID AMB. YOUNG WAS AWARE OF PROBLEM AND UNDERSTOOD SOVIET CONCERN, AND ADDED THAT HE WOULD LOOK INTO QUESTION.

9. OVERALL, MEETING WAS CORDIAL AND FRANK THOUGH SOMEWHAT RESERVED IN LIGHT OF THE OBVIOUS DIFFERENCES OF VIEW AND APPROACH ON SUBSTANTIVE AS WELL AS PROCEDURAL ISSUES, WHICH NEITHER SIDE SOUGHT TO DENY OR RESOLVE. OVINNIKOV APPEARED TO ACCEPT THESE DIFFERENCES, THOUGH HE AND TULINOV BOTH STRESSED THEIR PESSIMISM AND SAID US AND USSR SHOULD NOT HAVE ANY "ILLUSIONS" ABOUT LIKELY OUTCOME. WHILE OVINNIKOV EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE TWO DELEGATIONS WOULD WORK TOGETHER IN AREAS OF COMMON CONCERN -- WITH WHICH LEONARD CONCURRED -- HE MADE NO SPECIAL PLEA FOR CLOSE CONSULTATION AND COORDINATION, SUGGESTING THAT THE SOVIETS ARE PREPARED TO PURSUE THEIR HARD-LINE APPROACH EVEN IF THE UNITED STATES TAKES A MORE FORTHCOMING LINE.

10. IN VIEW OF MOUNTING INTEREST AMONG PREPCOM MEMBERS

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IN DECISION-MAKING ISSUE, LEONARD PLANS TO DISCUSS
MATTER WITH CHAIRMAN-TO-BE ORTIZ DE ROZAS BEFORE OPENING
OF PREPCOM. UNLESS DEPARTMENT OBJECTS, HE WILL MAKE
FOLLOWING POINTS: (A) IT IS IMPORTANT FOR FUTURE WORK
OF PREPCOM THAT DECISION-MAKING ISSUE BE THOROUGHLY
DISCUSSED AND RESOLVED AT THE OUTSET IN A NON-
CONTENTIOUS MANNER; (B) THESE DISCUSSIONS SHOULD LEAD
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TO APPROVAL OF A COMMITTEE STATEMENT, WORKED OUT
THROUGH INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS, SETTING OUT A GENERAL
FRAMEWORK FOR DECISION-MAKING; (C) THIS STATEMENT
SHOULD INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS: (1) RECOGNITION
OF THE IMPORTANCE OF BROAD INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE
RESULTS OF THE SPECIAL SESSION; (2) ACKNOWLEDGMENT
THAT EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO REACH DECISIONS ON
SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS ON THE BASIS OF CONSENSUS TO THE
GREATEST EXTENT POSSIBLE; (3) PROVISION THAT IN CASE OF
FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENTS THAT THREATEN TO DEADLOCK THE
PREPCOM, THE CHAIRMAN AND BUREAU SHOULD BE PREPARED TO
ENGAGE IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS WITH A VIEW TO RE-
CONCILING DIFFERING VIEWS; AND (4) RECOGNITION THAT THE
UNGA'S RULES OF PROCEDURE (I.E., THE POSSIBILITY OF VOTING)
SHALL BE REGARDED AS APPLICABLE AS THE UNDERLYING BASIS
OF THE COMMITTEE'S WORK. WE BELIEVE A FORMULA ALONG
THESE LINES WOULD ACCOMMODATE THE VIEWS OF THE NONALIGNED
AS WELL AS WESTERN DELEGATIONS, AND THAT IT WOULD PROVE
ULTIMATELY ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES.
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